1: Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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166 death.' All I shall attempt here is to give some further
619 details concerning the movements of the Aiga, which, since 'the whole series of (Binandele) migrations is a pressing of the Binandele north by the powerful Aiga', may be regarded as supplementing the work of Chinnery and Beaver.

Migrations of the Aiga

166 The Aiga are to be partly identified with the Evije-Tom-
173 baha or Timbariundi people, names of which there are now only scattered evidences. Timbariundi would appear to be
619 a highly contumelious nickname, for *timbari* indicates that common phenomenon among Orokaiva children, a sore between the buttocks. The Timbariundi are said to have been more than usually restless and prone to wander. They deserved the name of *sisiki popoki*, or 'vagrants', which was also applied to the miners who moved from camp to camp in this region twenty-five years ago. Their first home, as far as tradition goes back, was at Barau, in the Sauni district. Driven from here by their western neighbours, they settled in the vicinity of Aususu, and soon came into conflict with the people of Koropata. It is said that they next moved eastward to the Ahojega people, by whom they were not very cordially received, and that they then dispersed, some remaining among the Ahojega, some going to Hamara, some to the Hunjovarehu, and some back to Aususu. In the last-mentioned neighbourhood they drove out the Koropata people, and once more established themselves. There are to be seen caves in the hill-sides, difficult of access and well concealed, in which refugees of either party, Timbariundi or Koropata, would take shelter when driven from their villages.

It appears, however, that the bulk of the Timbariundi moved northward to the neighbourhood of Bogi. It was here, at a village called Anjivu, that the menfolk, seated one day in a large *oro*, were amusing themselves by beating and rubbing the floor with coco-nut shells by way of a substitute for drums. A high wind blowing without increased the noise, and the men sang lustily a meaningless song, '*Avara bivora, avara bivora*'. During a lull, while they waited

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for a fresh gust of wind, they were shelling betel-nuts and throwing the husks at one another. Something happened to affect the hitherto pleasant temper of the party, and they took to exchanging heavier missiles, and finally, their feelings thoroughly roused, rushed outside and commenced to fight with spears. As a result of this unnecessary quarrel the remaining Timbariundi found themselves divided into two factions, and when in due course they moved northwards again, some settled on the Kumusi and others on the Opi; and, whether there be any truth in this legend or no, there is still some trace of antagonism between the Aiga on the Kumusi side and those on the Opi side.

We need not suppose that these simple traditions about the Timbariundi will adequately account for the origin of the Aiga tribe. That tribe is more likely to be of a composite origin, and the Timbariundi to form merely one of the component elements. Such evidence as there is, however, all points to the south for the former home of the Aiga.

When they reached what is their present territory they found it occupied by Binandele people, especially by a branch of them called Kiriri Gaimoda. It appears that at first the Aiga and the Kiriri Gaimoda settled together, but that when quarrels subsequently disturbed their friendship the former drove the latter 'like pigs' out of the district. Several explanations, some of them trivial (but not too trivial to be true when we remember how quick-tempered a man is the Orokaiva), account for the quarrel between Aiga and Binandele. We are told that an Aiga was overheard playing a reed pipe in solitude, and that some people called Ponadu saw in this a splendid opportunity and killed him. Subsequently a party of Aiga were guests at a Kiriri Gaimoda feast, and seeing a Ponadu man there killed him by way of revenge. This led to bad blood between hosts and guests, and after many quarrels the former were driven out. Another explanation has it that an Aiga pig trespassed upon a Kiriri Gaimoda garden and was speared (and this oft-repeated circumstance has been a fruitful cause of serious quarrels). But several times repeated I have heard the same odd explanation, viz. that the trouble arose over a pet

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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166 parrot, some having it that the parrot was owned by an
173 Aiga man and killed by a Binandele boy, others that the
619 parrot was owned by a Binandele man and bitten by an Aiga dog.

It is certain, however, that a previous Binandele population were driven out by the Aiga, some of the fugitives settling on the lower Kumusi, others on the Mambare.

Subsequent quarrels among the Aiga, with constant repetition of the inter-clan fighting called *embogi*, finally led some of the Aiga to migrate northwards and rejoin the Binandele. It is said that these refugees in their anxiety to escape killed the old folk who impeded their progress and left them behind decorated with feathers but unburied. But a milder version of the same incident relates that one of the refugees taking his wife with him was so embarrassed by the clamorous grief of his *imboti*, or mother-in-law, that he silenced it by striking her dead with his club. There are now some Aiga clans represented among the Binandele, as there are also Aiga clans represented among the Hunjovarehu. And if any value can be attached to names, it would appear from cases in which they correspond that some of the clans are widely scattered among other tribes.

Legends of Origin and Dispersal of Tribes

I must confess to having no settled theory as to the movements of the tribes at large. There has evidently been a northward drift in comparatively recent times affecting the Aiga, the Binandele, and other peoples referred to by Chinnery and Beaver; but without reliable information (which I cannot supply) as to the movements of the other tribes, it is impossible to say whether this northward trend has been general.

773 Several legends (with many variations) are current as to the origin of the Orokaiva. In the south it is said that all the peoples issued from a hole in the ground or a cave situated somewhere in the Hydrographers, and that the first to emerge were the Orokaiva, who brought the taro with them, and left the yam and sweet potato for the mountaineers.

4: Chinnery & Haddon E-5 (ca. 1915)1917
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II.

A. C. Haddon.

The following article was written a year before receiving Mr Chinnery's communication. I think it advisable to let both papers appear together, as they throw light upon each other.

The natives of the Kumusi, and more especially of the Mambare Divisions, must be in an excited condition, for the new cults noted by Mr Chinnery do not seem to be related with the somewhat earlier cult to which I call attention, nor is there any evidence of the slightest connection between these and the abortive message of the Milne Bay "prophet." It is interesting to observe that M. Moszkowski[1] records a Messiah belief among the coast tribes of the Mamberamo, a river that opens by Cape D'Urville, in Netherlands New Guinea, at the eastern limit of Geelvink Bay. He says that there is everywhere met with amongst the coastal tribes a belief in Manseren Korēri, an ancient culture hero, and that the belief is certainly older than the first appearance of the missionaries. Very long ago there lived, according to this belief, a man endowed with supernatural and divine powers. He gave the Papuans laws and regulations, and founded the men's ceremonial houses. But, because the Papuans gradually neglected his commands, one day he vanished. Yet, so the legend runs, he will eventually return, and then everything will be renewed. Therefore is he called Manseren Korēri, the god at whose return everything will cast its skin.

An awakening of religious activity is a frequent characteristic of periods of social unrest. The weakening or disruption of the older social order may stimulate new and often bizarre ideals, and these may give rise to religious movements that strive to sanction social or political aspirations. Communities that feel themselves oppressed anticipate the emergence of a hero who will restore their prosperity and prestige. And when the people are imbued with religious fervour the expected hero will be regarded as a Messiah. Phenomena of this kind are well known in history, and are not unknown at the present day among peoples in all stages of civilisation.[2]

It is significant that even among the savages of New

[1] *Zeitsch. f. Ethnol.*, xliii., 1911, p. 327.

[2] The Ghost Dances of the Indians of the Plains of N. America, which partake of a Messianic character, may serve as an example.